

CHILD WELFARE

PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE TECHNICAL BULLETIN

PHW, GHQ, SCAP

August 1948

Section II. TB-PH-WEL No. 11, issued February 1948.

1. The attached paper, written by Mr. T. Namaye, presents a history of "Child Welfare Work in Japan" prior to 1919. The material was presented by Mr. Namaye at a conference on Child Welfare Standards, held in Washington, D.C., in May 1919 under the auspices of the U. S. Children's Bureau. Mr. T. Namaye has been for many years a leader in the development of social work in Japan. He is now retired but participates in the work of the Japan Social Work Association.

2. The material is being made available to Welfare Officers in Military Government since it presents a rather thorough survey of the early development of welfare work in Japan. The paper originally appeared in "Standards of Child Welfare", a Report of the Children's Bureau Conferences, May and June 1919. (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, Washington, 1919) This Bulletin is supplementary to TB-PH-WEL No. 11, "Child Welfare Law".

CHILD WELFARE WORK IN JAPAN

MAY 1919

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Ellen Kay said that the Twentieth century was the century of the child. It is well said, for the world is beginning to realize the importance of children's welfare as never before. The protection of children is demanded not only from the consideration of humanity, but also from the self-evident truth that the future welfare of society and nation at large depends upon the healthy minds and bodies of the present children. It is the realization of this fact that has made the question of children's welfare a social and national problem from the latter half of the nineteenth century up to the present time. The fact that a bureau for children's welfare was organized in the American Labor Department about six years ago, although many States at that time had highly efficient organizations for children's welfare work, must have been due to the same consideration.

Japan is not behind other nations in appreciating the importance of children's welfare; but our means for promoting it are far inferior to those of America and the nations of Europe. Various circumstances, customs, and habits are responsible for the poor accommodations; but it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss them. I shall confine myself chiefly to stating what regulations and provisions different departments have in regard to child welfare, and give explanations and personal views only occasionally. The departments that supervise children's welfare are the Department of Interior and the Department of Education, of Justice, and of Agriculture and Commerce. In discussing children's welfare work, it is convenient, therefore, to divide it as it is divided by the departments.

2. THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

a. Children's welfare work under the Department of Interior may be divided into two classes; namely, that which is regulated by law and that which is not.

b. Under the first class we have (1) the provisions of the Poor Law concerning the children of the poor, (2) The Foundling Act, and (3) the Reformatory Act.

(1) The Poor law was enacted in Japan in 1874, and the provision in question states that the forlorn children under thirteen years of age shall be given rice at the rate of three bushels and a half per year, and states also that the children who, although not strictly forlorn, have no relatives under seventy and above fifteen years of age, and are in distressing condition, shall receive the same amount of rice as that allowed to the forlorn children. It is hardly necessary to say that this method of relief is very primitive and the recipients necessarily very few. The expenses are to be paid by the national treasury; but as a matter of fact, the local public corporations supply the deficiency, which amounts to a considerable sum, although legal responsibility in the matter ends with the actual carrying out of the relief measures.

The latest statistics, which are those of 1917, will give a general idea about the amount of expenses and the number of recipients, as they have not increased or decreased to any great extent in late years.

Government expense	¥ 3,070
Local expense supplementary to the government expense	¥ 8,452
Local expense	<u>¥23,630</u>
Total	¥35,152

The total number of children cared for was 1,203 of whom 213 were cared for at government expense and 990 at local expense or at local expense supplementary to government expense.

It should be noticed that, although the local public corporations are not required by law to provide money for the relief of the poor children, the actual financial assistance given by them to the relief work is comparatively large, as the government allowance is insufficient, its policy being to let them take the matter as much as possible into their own hands.

(2) The Foundling Act was passed in 1871, and is the oldest of the relief enactments now in force in Japan. The original act enjoined that three bushels and half of rice per year should be given to each foundling until he reached his fifteenth year; but in 1873 the age limit was reduced from fifteen to thirteen, and has remained so ever since.

The number of foundlings found in Japan in a year is very small compared to those found in any of the European countries within the same length of time, a fact of which Japan can be proud. For illustration the number of foundlings for several recent years may be given:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Foundlings</u>
1911	225
1912	274
1913	242
1914	188
1915	301
Average for the five years	246

In a country possessing a population of more than sixty millions, only two hundred and forty-six foundlings a year is indeed a very small proportion. One might suspect that this scarcity of foundlings may be due to the strangling of infants or to abortion; but now such crimes are seldom perpetrated in Japan, though in the past they seem to have been quite frequent. In 1916, the total number of the foundlings under the protection of this law was 1,733, and the total expense for them ¥66,826. The foundlings being so few, it is scarcely necessary to have separate asylums for them; so the public corporations put them under the care of orphan asylums.

It will be seen that the total number of the children under the protection of the Poor Law and the Foundling Act is about 2,930 for a year, and the aggregate sum of expenses for them only about ¥101,970. European and American specialists may, no doubt, wonder at these small figures; but I believe that the chief causes are the following facts:

- (a) The Japanese Poor Law is extremely retrenching.
- (b) Social consciousness of the necessity of supporting the poor has not yet dawned.
- (c) The spirit of mutual help is quite strong.
- (d) The strong solidarity of the family system.
- (e) The strictness of legal responsibility of parents to take care of their children.
- (f) The natural kindness of Japanese people towards children.
- (g) The comparatively small disparity between the rich and the poor.

(3) The Reformatory Act was first enacted in 1900 and was amended in 1908. The act requires each prefecture to establish reform schools to take in delinquent children under eighteen years of age, the upper age-limit of the inmate being twenty. The bulk of the expense is to be paid by the prefecture; but one-half of the expenses required in founding reform schools and one-sixth of running expenses are to be granted from the National treasury.

There are 54 local reform schools in Japan at present. They are divided into two kinds, public and private. The public reform schools are 28 in number, the private ones 26. The total number of inmates of all these reform schools at the end of 1917 was about 2,100, of which about 500 were taken in during that same year. They are mostly treated under the family system or under a system which is a combination of the family system and the dormitory system. One hundred and fifty is the largest number of inmates that a reform school has at present, and 9 or 10 is the smallest. Under the family system, about 10 inmates are taken in as a rule and the master and mistress or nurses look after them. They are given some elementary school lessons in the morning and some practical lessons in the afternoon, mostly in agriculture and manual labor. We have no accurate statistics as yet on the results of these efforts; but we can say that 70 percent of the inmates come out of the reform schools much improved. The total expense in 1917 was ¥246,886, of which ¥44,000 was Government subsidy.

Besides the local reform schools, there is one national reform school which was opened in March of this year. The number of inmates is limited to 100. A training school for officers and staffs for reform schools in general is to be established in this institution.

The special feature of our Reformatory Act is that the executive department, and not the judicial, is the one that places the delinquent children in the reform schools. This is because we believe that the purpose of placing delinquent children in reform schools is not to punish or imprison them but to educate and improve them, and to make them decent members of society. It is, therefore, the prefectural governor who issues the orders to be served upon those whom he thinks it to be advisable to put under the care of a reform school. This is a procedure which is seldom seen in other countries.

c. The reasons why there are only about 2,000 delinquent children in more than 50 reform schools are (1) the scarcity of delinquent children in Japan, and (2) the inadequacy of the Reformatory Act. The Government is contemplating a revision of the act to make it more effective.

d. Under welfare work not regulated by law, we have (1) orphan asylums, (2) day nurseries, (3) the Committee on Social Affairs for work on the Bureau of Local Affairs, (4) The Committee on Investigation of Health and Sanitation, and (5) the Lectures on Sanitation for Women.

(1) Orphan Asylums. - The origin of orphanages in Japan was more than ten centuries ago; but it is unnecessary to dwell upon its long and obscure history. I shall speak only of the orphanage work since the Restoration of 1868. The first orphan asylum built in Japan in the Meiji era was started by a French Catholic nun in 1874. This orphanage has been making great efforts for poor and orphan girls for the past 45 years and takes the first rank among the orphan asylums in Japan in the number of children taken in, which is over 4,100. Besides this, one of the best known asylums in Japan is the Okayama Orphan Asylum, which was started by the late Juji Ishii, who had been greatly inspired by George Muller. This is widely known as the model orphanage in Japan.

There are at present 138 orphan asylums with 6,500 inmates. Their aggregate expense for a year is about ¥420,000. Their properties are estimated at more than ¥2,000,000. They are, with very few exceptions, private enterprises founded by some benevolent person; and in financial matters they are always hard pressed because there are not enough of public orphan asylums to relieve the private ones of their burdens. It is true that the Department of Interior subsidizes, to some extent, such institutions as are doing excellent work, and each prefecture gives some financial aid to those that are within its jurisdiction, out of the interest on the common fund of ¥5,000,000, which was granted by the Imperial Household; and the money that comes from public corporations when they give the charge of foundlings to orphan asylums is of some help. But all these aids are far from being sufficient to enable orphanage workers to carry on their work as they wish.

There are now about 700 charitable institutions in Japan, and there are indications that they will increase year after year. It seems that Christianity is responsible for this stirring up of the public

conscience. There are more than 70 charitable institutions under the management of Christians, and 30 of these are for orphan children. But charitable institutions are not monopolized by Christians by any means. In fact, Buddhists have more than 80 of them under their management, and their institutions for orphan children also outnumber those conducted by Christians. It should be mentioned here as a tribute to praise to both Christians and Buddhists that, though they differ in their religion, they are working hand in hand for the cause of charity.

The unweaned orphans are mostly placed under the care of farmers' families and when they reach school age they are, as a rule, taken into the regular orphanage. In Japan, the farming population is very large as compared with the city population, and there is not much difficulty, therefore, in finding suitable families among farmers to whom to entrust these children, and the result has been excellent. Those who cannot be placed in families are taken into the regular orphan asylums where they are now mostly treated under the family system, though in the past they used to be treated under the dormitory system. The orphan asylum conducted under the family system have from ten to fifteen inmates with a nurse or a master and mistress to look after them.

(2) Day Nurseries. - The first day nursery in Japan was established by the Kobe Women's Public Service Association during the Russo-Japanese war. At that time when it was necessary to support the poor families of soldiers who went to the front by giving them some work, and to enable mothers with small children to work they hit upon the idea of the day nursery and immediately some hundred day nurseries sprang up in different parts of Japan; but soon after the war all except one or two closed. Lately, however, their necessity was felt again owing to the demands of the times, and as a matter of fact they are increasing rapidly in number compared with other charitable institutions. Almost all day nurseries in Japan are private establishments. They are divided into creche and infant schools. The former take both the unweaned and infants, the latter infants only. The four day nurseries managed by the War Memorial Day Nursery Association of Kobe, and the Samegahashi Infant School of Tokyo are among the best known in Japan. There are over fifty day nurseries now and over three thousand infants taken care of by them. The total expense is more than ¥50,000. In everyday nursery great care is taken about the health of the children.

In Japan there is very little settlement work; but in the day nurseries they have family meetings from time to time, and they even visit the poor families and encourage them to save money and give other advice.

In this way they are doing a sort of settlement work to the great benefit of the poor. Though the day nurseries have been only recently organized, their good work is already appreciated by the public.

(3) Committee on Social Affairs. - The Japanese Government, in view of the tendency of the times, deemed it advisable to make investigations about the social conditions, both at home and abroad, with the purpose of availing itself of the suggestions obtained from the investigations in coping with problems that may arise in the future, and organized a committee on social affairs, consisting of twenty members, partly selected high officials of the Government and partly experts who have special knowledge and experience on such matters. The committee makes investigations about such matters as are requested by the Minister of the Department of Interior, and makes reports giving its views on them. The scope of investigation is quite extensive. At the last year's meeting the subjects brought for discussion were the public market, the housing problem, the employment bureau, the adjustment of capital and labor, and others. The committee is to make a thorough investigation of children's welfare work in the near future with the purpose of aiding those institutions already in existence and of establishing new ones.

From time immemorial the Japanese have had the custom of ancestor worship and even now they attach a peculiar importance to the notion of "family", and children as future successors to the "family" are treated with great care. They are regarded literally as family treasures. A well-known old Japanese poem says:

Silver, gold and precious stone,
What are they in comparison
With a daughter and son?

Traveling through any part of Japan you will see images of Gods and Goddesses which are regarded as protectors of children. From this superstition also you can see how solicitous they are for children's welfare. At any rate, the birth rate is always on the increase, and Japan does not have to resort to a premium system for the encouragement of childbirth as in other countries. The following statistics show that not only does the birth rate exceed the death rate, but it is also steadily increasing every year -- a phenomenon seldom seen in any other country.

Year	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Rate of Increase of Population per 1,000
1885	1,058,137	753,456	7.8
1895	1,335,125	876,837	10.9
1905	1,614,472	1,016,798	12.8
1910	1,737,674	1,037,016	13.4

The statistics for 1910 show that the number of births exceeded that of deaths by over 700,000.

But though we are very optimistic about the birth rate we are somewhat alarmed about the death rate of babes and infants, for it has been increasing in the past except in very recent years, as can be seen in the following statistics on the death rate of the unweaned less than one year old.

The following figures show the yearly average ratio of these deaths for every hundred births:

1886-1890.....	11.7
1891-1895.....	14.7
1896-1900.....	15.3
1901-1905.....	15.4
1906-1910.....	15.7
1912	15.4
1913	15.2

The slight decrease in the death rate as shown in the last two figures may be due to the efforts which the Government has been making of late years.

The average death rate per hundred children over one year and below five years of age is as follows:

Period	Age 1-2 Years	Age 2-5 Years	Age 0-5 Years
1889-1893.....	4.51.....	2.24.....	5.82
1894-1898.....	4.29.....	2.07.....	5.92
1899-1903.....	3.38.....	1.70.....	5.65
1904-1908.....	4.37.....	1.98.....	6.13

The above figures show that the death rate of children under five years of age has not materially decreased, but is still about twice as high as that of some European countries. It is a regrettable fact that notwithstanding this enormous death rate of children there are very few private enterprises to combat this problem. At present there is only one mothers' consultation society in Tokyo and another in Osaka. There are hospitals for children, the circuit hospitals, visiting nurses, and such organizations, which may be available in giving medical treatment to sick children, but these accommodations are but a few drops in a bucket. This state of things may look strange in a country which has been called by some "the paradise for children", but the fact is that the social consciousness has not been awakened to the actual state of affairs, the public at large having no knowledge of it.

(4) The Committee on Investigation of Health and Sanitation. - Two very promising organizations have been started lately to probe this problem, namely, the Committee on Investigation of Health and Sanitation and the Lectures on Sanitation for Women. The former, which was started by Imperial Decree in 1916, is under the supervision of the Department of Interior and at present has 36 members, part government officials, part non-official experts. The Vice Minister of the Department of Interior is the president of the committee. The work of the committee is divided into eight divisions, and one of them is the investigation of the health of infants, school children, and youth. The matter which has already been investigated and published is the death rate of children under five years for the

last ten years. Other matters now under investigation are the sickness of school children, physical development of babies, the health conditions in the day nurseries and orphan asylums, and the condition of about 20,000 sick infants in the pediatric departments of the medical school. The completion of statistics on these matters will facilitate in ascertaining the causes, whether this higher death rate is due to poor nutrition or to the mother's lack of knowledge in rearing children or to endemics. Then the committee will be in a position to devise some suitable means to check the widespread deaths and diseases.

(5) The Lectures on Sanitation for Women. - In prefectures and public corporations in our country, lectures on Sanitation are held for women. Although these were first started scarcely ten years ago they are now held throughout most of the country. The aim of these lectures is to diffuse among women knowledge in the rearing and care of children. The regular meetings continue several days at a place and sometimes they have exhibitions of things which are of interest to the work, something like the Baby Week Movement.

It is possible that by these means, the death rate of infants in Japan will be reduced as low as in other countries.

2. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

a. The Primary School Education

(1) History. - Compulsory education is the most important means of building up a healthy nation by inculcating a wholesome national spirit and diffusing general knowledge among the children of school age. All nations of Europe and America have adopted it long ago. In Japan it was in 1886 that compulsory education was adopted. The present school regulation requires six years' course of instruction and as a rule does not charge any school fee.

(2) Matriculation and Attendance. - Though it is only 30 years since school education became compulsory, schoolhouses have been built all over the country. The following table shows the percentages of matriculations and attendance from 1911 to 1915:

Year	Percentage of Matriculation	Percentage of Attendance
1911.....	98.23.....	92.47
1912.....	98.16.....	92.78
1913.....	98.26.....	93.36
1914.....	98.47.....	93.69
1915.....	98.61.....	94.25

(3) The Number of Schools and School Children.- The number of schools in 1914 was: public, 20,440; private, 136. In 1915 it was: public, 20,518; private, 150. The number of school children in 1914, 6,700,000; 1915, 6,900,000.

(4) Finances. - Expenses are paid by public corporations. They amounted in 1914 to ¥ 56,720,000 and in 1915 to ¥ 60,000,000. This rapid increase of expenditure is due to the fact that the population of Japan increases by 600,000 or 700,000 every year and consequently many new schoolhouses must be build. Such being the case, the burden of the self-governing communities becomes heavier yearly, and in some towns and villages the school expenses amount to one-half of their whole expenditure. Last year the Government decided to grant ten million yen annually to relieve the self-governing communities to some extent.

(5) Exemptions.- Children of school age afflicted with lunacy, idiocy, or serious illness may be excused from matriculation. Guardians too poor to send their children to school may postpone their matriculation. It is to be regretted that the nation and self-governing communities have no legal responsibility for educating these poor children. But the Government is contemplating making their education compulsory, though it is not known yet when this provision will be put in force. There are some public and private schools, however, which take in these poor children. So, in fact, this defect in our school regulations is not so bad as it appears. As those special schools have the double aspect of being institutions of education and of relief, they are under the joint supervision of the Department of Interior and the Department of Education.

(6) Institutions of Relief for the Defective and Destitute Children.- In 1917 there were 29 schools for the blind and dumb (both private and public); three schools for the deaf, and 38 schools for the blind. The number of children taken in by these institutions was 3,326. They are given four or six years of common education and practical training, in most cases free of charge. Some of these special schools have dormitories where the students can board with little expense. Most of the blind students become masseurs after their graduation; but as the deaf and dumb cannot easily earn a living, employment offices are established especially for their benefit. The total expense of these 70 institutions was ¥ 176,000 in 1916. The National Treasury, the self-governing communities, the educational associations, and some individual volunteers contribute to defray the expense.

In 1916 the number of the blind children of school age was 3,240; that of the dumb children of the same age, 6,039. These numbers are rather large in proportion to the number of the children taken in by these institutions for defective children. But as they are building new schools and enlarging some of the old ones, they will be able to take in a larger percentage in the future.

To come back to the education of the poor children, although the self-governing communities are not legally responsible for the education of the poor children whose matriculation is delayed for reasons stated before, some of them have voluntarily established

schools for the poor children. Besides these there are some conducted by individual benefactors. In 1915 there were 67 schools of this kind, of which 52 were day schools and 15 were night schools. The total number of the pupils in these schools was 14,176. The expenses for the same year amounted to about ¥ 142,000. Moreover, almost every town and village has societies for the protection of the children of school age. Textbooks and lunches are distributed by them among the poor children. In this way, the inadequacy of the school regulations is supplemented to some extent.

(7) The School Physicians.-- In 1898 an Imperial Decree was issued to the effect that all primary schools except those in small towns and villages having less than 5,000 inhabitants should hire physicians to improve their sanitary conditions. The physicians to be appointed by the local magistrates. Now most schools are too poor to hire private physicians exclusively attached to them -- only those in large cities can do that. Consequently they hire ordinary practitioners. Thus, nearly 57 per cent of the entire primary schools, that is, 15,300 out of 27,000, have their physicians. Those physicians inspect the sanitary conditions of the schools from time to time, and once a year they make physical examinations of all the pupils and report to the Department of Education and also to the guardian of the students.

The results of the physical examinations of the school children for ten years (1906-1915) show that their height, weight, and lung capacity are getting more satisfactory.

Although considerable efforts are thus being made for the improvement of the sanitary condition of schools, sometimes the improvement does not come up to the expectation, because most of the school physicians, being poorly paid, cannot give sufficient attention to the schools. Therefore, in the large cities the schools are trying to have their own physicians if possible. Under the present regulation the school physician does not examine the mental condition of the children, but something will have to be done to remedy this defect.

(8) The Central Organs. -- For better supervision of the sanitation of schools, the Department of Education established the School Sanitary Office in the Department in 1915, and in addition to this organized the School Sanitary Association as the consulting organ of the Minister of Education, and also holds a lecture class in the Department for the benefit of the school physicians from all over the country. Apart from this supervision of the Department of Education some prefectures have their own supervisors.

b. The Supplementary Industrial Schools

(1) In Japan as elsewhere there are many graduates of primary schools who desire to engage in some industry. To meet this demand the Japanese Government issued the Industrial School Order, encouraging the establishment of such institutions as are necessary

to give proper training to these graduates. Those institutions are technical, agricultural, commercial, mercantile, marine, and supplementary industrial schools. I shall speak here only of the last.

(2) The supplementary schools are divided into technical, agricultural, fisheries, commercial, and other schools. They matriculate primary school graduates and those who have an equivalent education. The length of the course and the number of study hours vary according to the season, locality, and the like; for instance, the supplementary schools are of very recent origin in Japan, but they are making rapid progress. Of these, the agricultural schools are most numerous, which is quite natural, Japan being essentially an agricultural country. The lessons taught in common throughout the various kinds of supplementary schools are morality, the vernacular, and arithmetic. Other lessons vary according to the kind of school.

(3) In 1916 the number of the public and private supplementary schools was 7,063 and that of the students 369,000. The following are the statistics for all kinds of supplementary schools for the same year:

	Public	Private	Total
Number of Schools.....	9,344	3,021	3,697
Number of Pupils.....	565,899	11,868	577,747
Expenditure.....	¥931,134 ...	Unknown....	Unknown

(4) The supplementary school education is not yet compulsory, but the wonderful growth of this kind of school in a short period shows that it is almost as good as compulsory, and it is believed that the Government will extend this course of instruction by two years and then require those who do not receive high school education to attend one of the supplementary schools.

c. The Religious Education

(1) Catholicism was introduced into Japan several hundred years ago; but Protestantism came in only at the beginning of the Meiji era (1868). In the fifty year of Meiji, that is in 1872, the first Sunday School was opened, but for some time the growth was very slow. About twelve years ago, however, Mr. Brown, General secretary of the World Sunday School Association, came to Japan and organized the National Sunday School Association of Japan, and from that time the Sunday School work has made a rapid progress, until in 1917 the number of Sunday Schools reached 2,473 and that of the Sunday School children 160,000.

The following table will show how rapidly the Sunday School work is growing:

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Attendants
1907.....	857.....	64,919
1912.....	1,588.....	106,599
1917.....	2,773.....	156,245

(2) Prominent men like Marquis Ikuma, Baron Shibusawa, and others were appointed as the promoting committee of the World Sunday School Association Convention, to be held in Japan in October of next year, and preparation for it is already on foot. The expenditure, it is said, will be ¥ 150,000. It is believed that the coming convention will bring a new epoch to the Sunday School work in Japan and will make a great contribution to the general education of the Japanese children.

(3) Sunday schools were at first all Christian institutions, but of late Buddhists also began to feel and need for them and established their own, and it should not be overlooked that they have made a remarkable progress with them.

(4) The Young Men's Association is an institution wherein the boys, who, though graduates of primary schools, cannot receive higher education, get together and learn about supplementary studies, industrial work, and citizenship. The management of the institution is left to the self-governing communities, the government only giving instructions on proper occasions. Most of these associations were organized after the Chino-Japanese War and again after the Russo-Japanese War. They had already done much good for social improvement, and in 1915, in view of the Great European War and for the future welfare of Japan, the Ministers of the Education and the Interior Departments gave joint instruction to the prefectural Governors for the improvement of the Young Men's Associations, which brought them under a system and made them doubly efficient.

(5) In most cases each city, town, and village constitutes a Y.M.A. district and has its headquarters; but within a district branches are established to facilitate the work and to bring the members into close touch. In some counties and prefectures they have headquarters to supervise Y.M.A. work within their districts. The age limit is not quite uniform throughout the country, but in most places twenty, and in some, twenty-five years of age is the limit. According to the last year's report of the Department of Interior there are 18,482 associations and 2,932,113 members.

(6) Among the various works carried on by the Y.M.A., the most general are the supplementary education, circulating library, keiro kai (veneration of aged people), temperance work, physical training, improvement of amusement, popular education, and the moral training of young men. Instruction is mostly given from time to time by lectures by school teachers, local officials, religious leaders and sometimes by business men:

(7) The expenses of the associations are paid: 1. out of money earned and contributed by the members of the associations; 2. by subsidies from the cities, towns, and villages; 3. by individual subscriptions; 4. by income from the capital; 5. the proceeds from cooperative enterprises of the associations. The total expenditure of all the associations in the country for 1916 was ¥ 736,750. Their property in the same year was estimated at ¥ 1,000,000.

(8) The aim of the Young Women's Association is practically the same as that of the Young Men's Association, namely, to make more efficient those girls and young women who are graduates of primary schools, but who cannot get higher education. The work of this association is naturally different from that of the Y.M.A. It includes domestic work, hygiene, rearing of children, cooking, sewing, family nursing, morality, and so on. The instruction is given by lectures of experts in these lines. These associations are all of very recent origin; but they already number 8,852 and have 1,049,652 members. The age limit of the membership varies from twenty to thirty years.

(9) One very noteworthy feature of these two organizations is that they sometimes have joint meetings. The occasions for these joint meetings are when they have school exhibits, pictures, lectures on moral culture, charitable work, and so forth. I say it is noteworthy because in Japan commingling of young men and women in this way is very rare, and those joint meetings, though humbly started, may if wisely conducted on a large scale have a great significance for the social welfare of Japan.

3. THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

a. Treatment of Juvenile Criminals

(1) The treatment of criminals, especially young criminals, is an important question for criminology. In 1907 the criminal code of Japan was revised and the age of discretion was fixed at 14. The Act says "the acts of persons under 14 years of age are not punishable". Young offenders above that age are punished by ordinary criminal law, there being no special laws for them.

(2) When a police officer apprehends a young offender, he takes him into a police station and there and then they examine him. If the offense is only slight they let him off with an admonition; and if it is not so slight or so serious they keep him in the house of detention for not more than 30 days; if it is serious they send him to the public procurator's office and the procurator examines the case and decides whether the offender should be prosecuted or not. The average number of young offenders who were subjected to judicial examination in five recent years was about 30,000; of these only 10,000 were prosecuted according to the regular law -- some of them were fined, some put in jail, and others imprisoned. The average number of those who were imprisoned during the period of the five years from 1913-1917 was 2,248. The statistics, however, reveal an annual decrease in the number of juvenile offenders in prison beginning with the year 1914, as shown in the accompanying table:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
1913	2,156	183	2,339
1914	2,684	189	2,873
1915	2,092	172	2,264
1916	2,021	163	2,184
1917	1,828	148	1,976

(3) The form of trial of young offenders is not uniform throughout the country, but in large cities like Tokyo, Osaka, and others, the courts have a juvenile department with a special judge. They usually segregate the young offenders from adult criminals and have a separate room for them. The trials are not open to the public. In these matters the spirit and the method closely resemble those of the juvenile courts in America and Europe. But as there are no special laws for children they are judged according to ordinary criminal law.

(4) The prison regulations provide that the offenders under 18 years of age who are subjected to more than two months of penal servitude may be put into special prisons or special departments of regular prisons, and that they be kept in them until they reach their twentieth year. Thus the juvenile offenders are treated in a different way from that in which ordinary criminals are treated, the object being their protection and reformation more than punishment. Moreover, they are obliged to attend school a given number of hours every day, and even the labor they are required to do is rather for their training than for supplementing the funds by which the prisons are maintained. At present there are nine such juvenile prisons in principal places of Japan, and several more will be established in the near future. In the treatment of juvenile offenders both the grade system and mark system have been adopted and the choice between them is left to each prison. Whether they use the grade system or the mark system, they keep each prisoner in a separate cell for the first three or four months of his imprisonment in entire seclusion from the outside world, and if he shows signs of improvement he is promoted to a higher grade and treatment becomes more lenient.

(5) The result of this treatment is shown in the accompanying table:

<u>Year</u>	<u>First Offenses</u>	<u>Second and Later Offenses</u>
1913	2,220	585
1914	1,903	470
1915	1,851	418
1916	1,787	397

Thus it may be seen that the number of offenses is decreasing every year, but the number of second and later offenses has not materially changed. The latter fact may be due partly to not imposing an indefinite sentence and partly to the lack of social sympathy with the discharged prisoner.

(6) It can easily be imagined that many of those who are set free without trial will repeat the offense if adequate protection is not given to them. Therefore whether the juvenile offenders are homeless or not, some further means of protection is absolutely necessary. In this regard we regret there is no probation system in Japan as yet. Not that there is nothing done in the way of their protection, for there are two homes for boys and one for girls in Tokyo. In those two places for boys they look after more than a thousand boys every year, and their work in seven cases out of ten is successful. There are more of these societies outside of Tokyo, but they are not so active in their work as those in Tokyo. It is to be hoped that many more such societies will be organized in the future to give adequate protection to the misguided youth.

b. The Children's Act

(1) Though various attempts have been made at devising means of prevention of juvenile crimes, they have not accomplished the desired results; but it has been thought that the establishment of juvenile courts would be best suited for the accomplishment of this object. The law investigating committee have been working at a bill for some years, and the bill is nearly completed. It is not time yet for its publication; but, generally speaking, it seeks to apply a sort of probation system to those under 18 years of age who have committed some criminal offense or are inclined to do so. What the bill seeks to accomplish is as follows:

- (a) To give admonitions from the court.
- (b) To obtain admonitions from the principal of the school.
- (c) To demand a written promise for repentance.
- (d) To hand delinquents over to some protector on certain conditions.
- (e) To place them under the care of some religious organization or protective society.
- (f) To place them under probation officers' care.
- (g) To send them to industrial schools.
- (h) To send them to reform schools.

(2) There are also features not seen in the laws of other countries, but on the whole the provisions are practically the same as the juvenile court regulations of America and of Europe. If the bill passes, after some amendments, it will do a great deal of good in the way of rectifying the defects of the present law.

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

The development of factories in Japan is of very recent origin. In fact it is not fifty years old yet. Therefore the capitalists and factory owners of Japan have not had experience in the management of such enterprises. Before the introduction of the factory system,

the various industries of Japan carried on their business by means of handicraft and home industry. In those days, when international trade was forbidden and the principal of "self-supply" had to be enforced, no great inconvenience was felt from those old-fashioned methods, and the handicraftsmen and those who were engaged in home industries dragged along in their work from morning till late at night in a most lax manner without any definite restriction of time. The relation of the employer and employee was, of course, that of master and servant. But when Commodore Perry came and broke the spell of a long dream, all of a sudden the policy of isolation was abandoned; international commerce was allowed, and in fact everything changed in a very short time. The social, political, and business conditions underwent a complete change and left no trace to remind us of former conditions. In the industrial circle also the factory work took the place of home industry and a great many operatives began to work with wonderful machinery and to have definite hours of work. But even when such violent change had been accomplished, the relation of the capitalist and the factory workers remained that of master and servant. As to the long hours of labor, too, employers, employees, and the public at large, being accustomed to it, never thought anything was amiss.

a. The Factory Act

(1) Such being the conditions under which the factory system had developed, the Government perceived the necessity of taking some protective measures and in 1882 organized a committee to investigate the actual conditions and customs of the factories throughout the country. In 1897 a bill was drafted based on the results of the investigation by this committee. But very unfortunately the Parliament dissolved at that time and the bill was not even presented. After many years of hard labor in overcoming obstacles thrown in its way, the bill finally passed through both Houses in 1911 for the first time; but it was not until 1916 that it became operative, owing to the fact that deciding on the rules of enforcing the law took a long time.

(2) As a result of this law, an Imperial Decree was issued ordering the Department of Agriculture and Commerce to establish a factory section in the Department. In pursuance of this decree the Department appointed the Vice Minister as the sectional chief with four factory supervisors and five sub-supervisors to assist him. Moreover it has been decided to have local supervisors placed in several important places, and in fact there are now about two hundred of them distributed in various parts of the country. The expenditure required in this work is about ¥ 200,000. Although we have now this Factory Law for the protection of child laborers, no special law has been enacted as to the restriction of the work hours of adult laborers, it being left entirely to the agreement between the employers and employees.

The restrictions placed upon child labor are as follows:

- (a) THE AGE OF THE CHILD LABORER. "The factory owners (employers) are not allowed to hire children under twelve years of age except under special administrative permissions."

- (2) THE PROHIBITION OF NIGHT WORK. "All children under fifteen years of age are not allowed to be employed in any work after 10 P.M. and before 4 A.M. But for fifteen years after the enforcement of this law, those special industries which require night work or continual day-and-night work may be exempted from the application of this law by the permission of the Minister of the Department."
- (3) HOLIDAYS AND RECESS PERIODS. "To children under fifteen years of age, two holidays should be allowed in a month and to children of the same age who are employed in a business requiring day-and-night work, four holidays should be allowed in a month, and if the working time should exceed six hours a day, a recess of at least half an hour should be given to them, if ten hours, a recess of at least one hour."
- (4) CASES WHERE ASSISTANCE IS TO BE GIVEN. "When a factory operative meets accident, falls sick, or dies without any serious fault of his own, the employer is required to give financial assistance to him or to his surviving family."

(3) The Number of Child Laborers in Japan

The number of child workers in factories in 1916 is shown in the accompanying table:

Age	Total	Boys	Girls
10-12	10,914	1,938	8,976
12-15	<u>133,570</u>	<u>29,853</u>	<u>103,717</u>
All ages	144,484	31,791	112,693

The total number of the adult operatives and the child laborers in factories being about a million, children form nearly fifteen per cent.

b. Welfare Work

(1) Special arrangements made for the promotion of the laborer's welfare are not few. Since the operation of the Factory Law, they have rapidly increased, although their exact number is not yet ascertained. In the Prefecture of Tokyo there are about 1,600 factories of all sizes and about 230,000 operatives. There are about 500 factories that employ more than 50 workers. Sixty-three out of these 500 factories have mutual aid societies, some of which, in case of sickness or retirement of the members, give financial aid

out of the fund paid up by operatives exclusively, and others of which give aid out of the fund contributed to by the operatives and the employers. The latter usually contribute as much as or half as much as the total sum of the contribution by the employees. There are also day nurseries, rent-free houses, dormitories, bath-houses, places of amusement and so on, altogether numbering 210. And for the education of the employees there are 56 institutions where they train apprentices and give supplementary instruction or primary school education, and the prospect is that these institutions will gradually increase.

I must confess that what has been said above is a very imperfect presentation of the subject. And time does not allow me to discuss fully the advisability or inadvisability of the long hours of labor to which Japanese children are subjected. I should only say that labor in Japan has a peculiar history and circumstances, and now to adopt the American or European system bodily in entire disregard of that history and circumstances would be only to bring on unnecessary disturbance if not disaster. As principles, the propositions made by the Committee on the International Labor Alliance meet our approval, but Japan is under the necessity of steering her course in this matter with due regard to her peculiar internal conditions as well as external circumstances, and for this reason, Japan may have to be treated as an exception. We are not, of course, satisfied with the present condition of the Factory Act; but we must be patient. Perseverance has accomplished wonders. Rome was not built in a day. Japan, though not very slow in making progress, requires time to bring about such fundamental changes as suggested by the Committee now meeting in Paris.